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AND WHAT IF AGE WERE AN ASSET...

Education and Aging

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"Old age bears witness to the failure of our civilization. Making the situation of the elderly acceptable calls for the renewal of man as a whole and the creation of an entirely new set of relationships between people. A person should not reach the end of his life empty-handed and alone. If culture, instead of being a lifeless accumulation of knowledge, once acquired and then forgotten, were dynamic and practical, it would allow an individual to control his environment in a fulfilled and renewed way throughout his life, and he would then remain an active and useful citizen, regardless of his age!"

Simone de Beauvoir
La vieillesse 1970

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"Youth is not a prerogative nor is old age a mistake. But the dimensions of today's reality are modified by the recent extension of human life. The four contemporary generations must learn to live together".

Louise Weiss

INTRODUCTION

United Nations experts have calculated that in 1950, mankind included 200 million people aged 60 or more and that by 2000, this number will reach 600 million. The phenomenon of extending life expectancy, which occurred in the western world over a period of 150 to 200 years, as a result of scientific and technical progress and also as a result of accelerated progress in the medical sciences, will take place worldwide within the next 20 to 30 years. According to research, it is, in relation to the future, the most significant evènt of the XXth century. It is however strange that this completely new development in the history of mankind, bearing such far-reaching consequences, seems to be surrounded by a conspiracy of silence, or at least, by an uninformed approach which often still results in considering "elderly people" as "different" men and women who instill fear because they represent today what we reluctantly will become tomorrow: old people. Indeed, in a society which judges men by the standard of productivity and has little consideration for those who are not governed by the work ethic, how in fact do we view the 60 to 90 year olds, or even the 50 year olds? Just as youth rejects adults, adults reject the elderly. Are the elderly so disturbing?

In China, the elderly are part of the family. They take care of the grandchildren; these in turn often teach their elders how to read; there is no such thing as a generation gap. In Africa, the elders are treated with respect, not only because they are the core of the village, but also because they are close to the invisible world and to the supreme vital forces. In Québec, people all too often prefer to place their elders in somber institutions and forget about them. They are put into minute apartments where they end their lives in incredible isolation. "What frightens me, said an elderly lady, is not old age itself, but its emptiness!".

Added to the serious social problem of individual and collective aging, there is today another form of aging: it is, paradoxically, the result of progress. The rapid succession of scientific discoveries and the ensuing cultural changes have contributed to the increased marginalization of those born at the turn of the century, whose different ideas, values and lifestyles are now outdated.

Constantly accelerating social changes risk creating a feeling of insecurity, indeed of removal from one's surroundings. People who have "taken on years" find this to be a difficult experience. This feeling is aggravated by the present economic crisis which reduces both the assistance provided by the governments and the chances of living a comfortable life, and forces an increasing number of workers into early retirement.

Following an era of abundance, an era which increasingly promised and delivered more, the restrictions of the present times considerably affect senior Quebecers, the majority of whom are <u>women</u>, 63% of the latter being below the poverty line. It would be advisable to keep this situation in mind throughout the present report.

This negative finding might, according to some, require qualification. These so-called "aged" persons represent a whole society reaching its maturity. Men and women who are "nearing" the end of their life in fact, at age 65, reach a high point along the road of life, after having covered quite a long way. They have gone through childhood and its enchantments, youth and its dreams, adult life and its successes and setbacks; they have, along the way, acquired much for themselves and much to remember. Senior citizens, individually as well as collectively, are in fact making themselves heard. Mention is made of active retirement while others speak with scepticism of the new "fashion" of the Third Age. Decisions are being taken, projects are being created, the academic world itself has entered into the picture. This "Age" is organizing itself or ... perhaps, is being organized.

For a number of years, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, through its Commission de l'éducation des adultes, has focussed its attention on the underprivileged in Québec society. Last year, a study on young adults and their social and professional integration attempted to sensitize public opinion about the problems of the young unemployed.

Thus, in the present study, which is in line with the preceding ones, the Conseil has decided to concentrate on this too often concealed aspect of existence, this important, ever increasing and multi-faced part of society. It is ironic that at both the dawn and dusk of one's life, it seems so hard to find a place within the community and to be accepted by its more active citizens. More specifically, it is important to consider the situation of senior citizens from a global point of view, since this concerns society as a whole and is a challenge for all forms of government. Moreover, this approach is a special challenge for education. In effect,

continuing education now being accepted as a matter of course, it is obvious that the phenomenon of aging of individuals and groups, i.e. the progress of life to its end together with the questions this raises, must be considered closely and given a lucid and courageous second look. Expectations and crying needs will probably not fail to appear; but at the same time resources which can no longer be ignored, will come to light. And what if age were an asset?

The present study - which is not intended to be exhaustive - attempts however, in its first part, to define the nature of the question, i.e. informing about the growth of the phenomenon of aging individuals and populations; pointing out the multiple and sometimes contradictory practices and opinions generated by this unprecedented phenomenon and its impact on the future of humanity; outlining more particularly the attitude of Québec society and, finally, identifying the individual and social challenges that the phenomenon of aging poses to the population and to education.

Following this overview of aging, the second part will develop more precisely the notion of termination of work and retirement. It will consider this "retirement condition" from three viewpoints, corresponding to the three stages of this phase of life, which we have termed: 1) the tragic age; 2) the new age; 3) old age.

This description will allow us, in the third part, to attempt an analysis of the needs, interests and expectations of the elderly in order to, in the fourth part, verify the relevance of existing services and outline the functions that are normally attributed to the elderly.

Finally we will examine how to integrate the "New Age" into society and what role education should play in it.

CHAPTER 1: Aging in our Society

> "Men are born, grow up, go into retirement and die within the framework of our own society. The nature of their old age is highly dependent on the society in which they live and on the niche they occupy in it. Old age cannot be considered separately in a socio-culture in which going into retirement is equivalent to being old, especially if for a good number of men and women, being old means being 1) a welfare recipient; 2) a useless person".
>
> Dr. Charles Dayant

"It's quite an experience when you can't multiply your own age by two without a shudder" remarked a professor of continuing education of the University of Montréal. This is the experience of growing old. While those who are advancing in years have a "gut feeling" of this reality, the same cannot be said about the science of growing old. If it is true that scientific knowledge results from rectifying a long string of errors, objective knowledge of growing old should begin by suppressing errors and the prejudices they entail.

The first error consists in confusing biological aging and human aging, or, in other words, reducing human aging to simple natural transformations. Undoubtedly, aging consists in a declining phase that follows growth and precedes death. However, in man, this is not an ordinary passively sustained phenomenon. It is the renewal of the biological evolution of one's life, which may be assumed - or rejected - according to personal or collective rules that vary with time and place. Human aging is specific.

Another error consists in confusing aging with old age. To limit the former to the terminal phase of life is to narrow down the meaning of the term. Human aging is an on-going process which covers all phases of life. Old age is only the last phase, the end of the process.

A third error which is a corollary of the two preceding ones, consists in ignoring the variations brought about by the evolution of individuals and groups according to times, milieux and social status. Growing old is a diversified process and this raises the question of deficiencies and needs, as well as of potential for action and education to improve the conditions of advancing in age. This is suggested in the Wilkins report presented to the ACFAS in May 1980: "The difference in life expectancy between affluent suburban districts and poor center districts amounts to more than nine years. The life expectancy curve closely follows those of income, schooling and occupation. Montreal men average two chances out of three of reaching age 65. A resident of the Boucle d'Or[1] stands 4 chances out of 5 of reaching this age, while a resident of the lower city stands only one chance out of two of surviving till this age..."

Individual and demographic aging

One must go beyond prejudices. The term "aging" does not have the same connotation when applied to aging of individuals and aging of populations. The human condition has certainly not changed in the last couple of centuries and men remain mortal, but the procession of human beings has taken on quite a different look. Each year, an ever increasing proportion of the living reaches the age of maturity or old age. This is the phenomenon of steadily extending life expectancy. When demographers refer to the aging of populations, they have in mind, at a given moment, the ratio between the number of individuals of an age equal or inferior to, for example, age 60, and the total population number. What they have found is an

unprecedented historical phenomenon, which is the steady increase, for over a century, of the proportion of people 60 years old or older. Oddly enough, this phenomenon is almost entirely explained by the lowering of the birth rate and hardly by the increase in life expectancy. The reasons for the increase of the older population in a given society are that fewer children are born and fewer young immigrants are received.

The situation in Québec

In Québec, there is presently one retired person for every seven workers. In the year 2000, the ratio will be one to three. The majority of elderly people are women (in 1981),the 65-79 year old group numbered 124 women for each 100 men and the 80 year old and older group numbered 184 women for each 100 men.

CHART 1

Population aged 65 and older according to sex. Québec 1951 to 2001 (in absolute numbers and in percentages of total population)

	Men	Women	Total
Population aged 65 and older			
1951	113 467	118 630	232 097
1956	127 907	136 116	264 023
1961	144 700	161 601	306 301
1966	160 942	190 712	351 654
1971	180 560	232 465	413 015
1976	205 117	279 226	484 343
1981	232 932	331 195	564 127
1991	287 578	451 072	738 650
2001	330 267	542 584	872 851
Ratio of population aged 65 and older, to population (%)			
1951	5.6	5.8	5.7
1956	5.5	5.9	5.7
1961	5.5	6.2	5.8
1966	5.6	6.6	6.1
1971	6.0	7.7	6.9
1976	6.6	8.9	7.8
1981	7.2	10.0	8.6
1991	8.2	12.4	10.3
2001	9.1	14.1	11.7

Sources: For 1951 to 1971, Statistiques Canada 1971, 1.2 (Bulletin 1-2-3) chart 7
For 1976 to 2001: Bureau de la statistique du Québec, Demography and Census Service. Perspectives démographiques pour le Québec: quatre hypothèses (Demographic Prospects for Québec: Four Hypotheses) 1973-1986-2001. Hypothesis B.

CHART 2

Percentage of increase of population 65 years old and older in relation to total population according to sex. Québec, 1951 to 2001

	Men	Women	Total
Population age 65 and older			
Between 1951 and 1961	27.5	36.2	32.0
Between 1961 and 1971	24.8	43.9	34.8
Between 1971 and 1981	29.0	42.5	36.6
Between 1981 and 1991	23.5	36.2	30.9
Between 1991 and 2001	14.8	20.3	18.2
Total population			
Between 1951 and 1961	30.2	29.2	29.7
Between 1961 and 1971	13.8	15.4	14.6
Between 1971 and 1981	7.7	9.1	8.4
Between 1981 and 1991	8.6	10.1	9.3
Between 1991 and 2001	3.8	5.0	4.4

Sources: see Chart 1

Foreseeable consequences

We do not intend joining the debate aimed at untangling the reasons for the change in the demographic system and the contemporary transformations concerning birth, life and death, to which we have grown accustomed without measuring their consequences. We must however perforce observe that the destruction of an ancient state of equilibrium generates all kinds of disorder... until another and as yet unknown state of equilibrium sets in. We already know that the dynamics of social relations are altered, for example: the way of sharing power and knowledge, work and leisure and more importantly the relations or conflicts between generations. It will shortly be seen that the possibilities of entering or leaving the labor market before or after a given "chronological" age depend on collective decisions taken by the entire group of social participants. Changes in the school, health and retirement situation have taken place and will continue to take place as a result of numerous political or social debates.

Conservatism and deculturalization

The concept of aging includes other connotations that cannot be overlooked since they symbolize observed or experienced attitudes and behaviors. May we dare say that aging is manifested by a certain way of living with one's culture and traditions? There is a sclerotic and repetitive way of living with one's heritage, of "consuming" culture that kills creation and stalls the future. This is conservatism.

There is more. Beyond the obsolescence of knowledge due to the acceleration of progress, aging persons, more than others, experience what may be termed a phenomenon of loss of culture, or deculturalization. The rupture with the past, the loss of

tradition is indeed one of the tragedies of modern times. Historical and cultural memory are weakening; for many, they no longer exist. All that has been acquired is no longer acceptable, the thread has been broken. There is no more point of reference and therefore no more sense of direction, since "loss of direction begins with the loss of one's origins"[2]. The system of norms and ways of life which was accepted unanimously within the social body is no longer valid, no longer "idealized" and has lost both its symbolical power and its power of binding generations together.

In this context, elders who have organized their lives around traditional values often find themselves outsiders and feel out of place. It is easily understandable that they are the first victims of this social evolution. Their function was one of mediation and counsel. They deserved respect. Today, the fact that they are different is embarrassing, disturbing and sometimes provokes repulsion. Our haste to be modern and our fight against tradition has humiliated them. It is of course true that elderly people are not the only ones to suffer from this crisis, since, as this century is ending, the ambivalence of the industrial era is obvious to every one. The young are also, sadly so, the victims of this ambivalence. However, cultural changes affect the elderly more deeply. The greatest social transformation was perhaps the urbanization of the human community; old people's homes, "residences" and solitary rooms have replaced the rural homes at the center of the family and village. Moreover, the acceleration of social mobility, in particular vertical mobility due to urbanization, causes children to overtake - or to believe they have overtaken - their parents.

Autochtons and Allophones

The above mentioned factors - technological and medical development, urbanization, the higher degree of education - have an even greater influence on the older members of ethnic communities.

There are first the autochtons who lose their family traditions on coming into contact with the modern world. Nicolas Zay describes the situation well:

> "Among Indians, for example, children consider it a duty and a privilege to help their parents. Old people hold a choice place in the social fabric, but the abandoning of traditional ways of life and the exodus of the young towards the cities, together with the loss of the mother tongue, have widened the generation gap. Within the Inuit community, where political claims are based on culture, as held and transmitted by the elders, the situation is slightly different. The authority of the elders was not so dramatically reduced under the impact of modernization, obviously because of the isolation of this group and the relatively restricted mobility of the young.
>
> With persons of foreign extraction, the language barrier between parents and children unfailingly has its repercussions on family relations. Moreover, the fact that the grandparents who have remained in the country of origin are unknown to, or vaguely known by their grandchildren, certainly affects their attitudes concerning old age and old people. A partial explanation for the age structure of certain ethnic groups lies in the relatively high proportion of single persons who, because of a lack of resources, have never succeeded in bringing over their fiancée or their family. Such are the family dramas about which we too often lack information. Such are the persons doomed to grow old in deep solitude[3]"

This overview of the many aspects of the concept of aging sufficiently illustrates the complexity of this phenomenon. The latter becomes even more difficult to define when its elements include values that change with time. The impressions - better still, the faces - of old age evolve from year to year: people who will be 65 in 10 years time will not resemble those who are 65 today.

Does any reference to chronological age make sense, at least during the second part of life? There certainly are contradictions: thus while life expectancy itself is extending, the expectancy of active life is decreasing. 40 year old teachers who have taught for 12 or 15 years in the same school will be considered "old"! It therefore becomes necessary to "open up" the concept of aging (a closed notion consisting in the scientific data about age and the changes related to age) in order to take into account the peculiar modifications which each individual's life may include. "There is no single old age", wrote E. Souriau, "but an infinite number of possible old ages". This is convincingly demonstrated by the numerous works about this stage of human life, as well as the testimonies gathered during interviews carried out by the CEA.

Testimonies

First finding: the shock caused by the sudden realization of unsurmountable obstacles. Age - which previously did not exist - has suddenly fallen upon this employee:

> "He had reached the age where one grows old: until the age of 30, all that has been accumulated gives results: this is the period when the social individual is deemed to reach maturity; after 35, he goes into decline (fresh starts are excluded); from then on, he grows old because fresh starts are forbidden and his past has become the pattern for his future[4]".

Another even more significant finding: the distinction made between men and women:

> "Montand and I are of the same age. We have lived side by side: while I grew old with him, he mellowed with me. This is how men grow old: white hair is referred to as "silver-grey temples", wrinkles chisel their features while they disfigure women[5].

Or the following, concerning solitude:

> "We exclude ourselves in order not to be excluded and we displease both the others and ourselves - there are so many old people now, what can you do ... We are too old. We are in the way. Naturally, we can't die soon enough".
>
> 83 years old - widow - worker mechanic

> In an institution", remarked another, "one is alone in the midst of a crowd".

> "The first and most important problem with elderly people is that of solitude". This is stated by the members of an association of retired persons. "All other problems are in one way or another related to solitude and can be typified by it. This is why the Association has adopted as the first objective of its constitution to overcome solitude, get people out and inform them".

Other testimonies reveal the ambiguity of feelings and behaviours.

"I am 67 and do not show my age. I am in excellent shape and go out with people who are active and full of plans. I have no desire, but absolutely no desire, of presently facing the painful spectre of the wheelchair or the hospital for the chronically ill, since obviously all of us young elders are more or less condemned to end our days in the old people's home".

And finally, the following story:

> "During a convention plenary session, two ladies came forward to read the proposals adopted. The first lady recalled her occupations, her responsibilities in a club and concluded: " I do not hide my age, I am 73 and proud of having stayed young". The conquered audience thundered its applause. The second lady, a discreet but confident person, spoke for a group of elderly persons who had decided to take charge of themselves: she evoked her youth, her mature age as a textile worker, her union activities, terminated with the problems of advanced old age and exclaimed: " I am proud of being an old lady". The audience remained rooted in dead silence[6]".

Solitude

The variety of these reflections reveals the deep feelings of each individual, but above all, these reflections show us the suffering caused by solitude. The Commission's consultations and visits confirmed this. The greatest threat to retired persons is solitude. Growing old means passing from an environment of rich solidarities to one of great solitude. A recent report on the situation in reception centers shows that 40% of the residents have no visits whatsoever. In a study published in 1983, on "Living Conditions of the Aged at Home", the M.A.S. summarizes thus its tentative perceptions of solitude, loneliness and segregation:

"To begin with, it may be said that elderly persons, as a group, feel rather neglected. More specifically, 60% agree or are mostly in agreement with the opinion that "the majority of people are hardly concerned about the elderly". This perception is stronger (70%) among those who are in "poor" health. Taken individually, almost half of the people said they are presently rather worried "about becoming increasingly lonely as time goes by"... Finally, 30% of old people at home suffer from loneliness in the sense that they are concerned "about having no one to talk to when things aren't going too well!"[7]

Dynamism

But there are other attitudes too. There is a kind of eagerness to live, to compensate for the narrowness of the remaining years by the quality of the present moments and a desire for fulfilment. These feelings are experienced in two apparently opposite ways, the active and dynamic elderly person who continues learning, helping others and fighting for his or her rights; and the other, the solitary person who courageously accepts and even desires solitude and discovers a

kind of serenity in reflection and contemplation, as shown by the 85 year old gentleman who, during his daily walk in the Botanical Gardens, pauses to contemplate with enchantment the beauty of trees in springtime.

Society's perception

Besides the subjective ways of thinking and living the experience of growing old, peculiar to those who are themselves aging, there are other ways, experienced by society from the "outside". This is the reverse side of the mirror. These ideas need to be examined, as they are often symptomatic of fear, rejection or even misinformation. They tend to disrespect old age and by the same token, hinder the improvement of the living conditions for senior citizens. "To die, yes, but to grow old..." sings Jacques Brel. Old age is viewed with contempt in our materialistic societies. The untenable prospect of the down-fall, the diminishing of physical and sometimes mental capacities, and finally decrepitude, is kept at bay. Present day stereotypes exhibit a kind of sly good-naturedness, a contemptuous paternalism that caricatures reality by making it unreal and innocuous. Too many people speak condescendingly of the "reduction" and decrease in productivity brought on by age. Discriminatory practices are found in business and teaching, in fact almost everywhere, even before retirement.

A survey conducted by Rosen and Jerdee among the readers of the Harvard Business Review reveals that less effort was spent on informing an old worker compared to a younger one about the necessity of improving his performance. The same readers declared that they were not inclined to offer the necessary organizational support to promote an older employee's career or to retrain him. Finally, they indicated that they deliberately limited the chances of promotion of their older employees to jobs requiring creativity,

mental ability or the necessary aptitude to handle crisis situations[8]".

In the United States, less than one person out of five among the 18 to 64 age groups considers that old people (55 and older) are very open-minded or capable of adapting. Less than one person out of three, from the same age group, perceives them as particularly intelligent and alert. Not more than a third of them considers old people capable of dealing successfully with a job[9].

Society's perceptions of old age may be studied at length, from the picture of the forefather sketched in literature, to the portraits of old people in paintings and, in between - sadly so - from televized images.

These images will either depict idealization, kindness and smiling wisdom, or austerity and dignity, but they will also show despair, passions and especially physical decrepitude. Art, as a projection of the mind, reveals the ambivalence of social life: it gives positive images that transfigure old age and negative images that reveal fear and rejection.

A new science: gerontology

Beyond the common knowledge of aging provided by universal reality and expressed in opinions, attitudes and value judgments, the same ages may appear at another level, where they are analyzed and interpreted. Systematic research was undertaken and legislation adopted, timidly at first, but subsequently enlarged into a policy on old age. A whole series of public measures, programs and institutions have developed around the economic and social life of the aged. Moreover, a new discipline was born among the human sciences: gerontology.

Gerontology is the result of an awareness, during the latter part of the XXth Century, of the increasing number of aged people, of their growing inability to earn their living through work and of the problems raised by their health. Gerontology is science's effort to find an answer to the phenomenon of aging. A true interdisciplinary science, gerontology should become a focal point from which human aging can be studied in perspective and in relation to all phases of human development.

Society and science's answers to problems attributed to the third age indicate a highly commendable concern for this acute phenomenon. However, upon further analysis, these answers remain inadequate, sometimes incoherent and too often disparate. This is Michel Philibert's opinion, as expressed in a Manifesto written in 1981:

"... We believe that these answers were hastily improvised, under the pressure of circumstances, in a disorderly way and in unavoidable confusion. They must be regarded as provisional, ambivalent and not as the solution to a situation which is recent, changing and has not yet been detected, analyzed and appreciated in all its magnitude. The so-called answers of gerontology, pediatrics and public authorities have already begun modifying the reality of this situation and our perception of it, not necessarily nor exclusively in a favorable sense; they have also aggravated and distorted it[10]".

The role of Education

Is it not to education that aging, as already outlined, poses a challenge? Is it not the role of education to "do a good job of man" and allow him to fulfil himself? If to live is to grow old and if to grow old is the destiny of every human being, then it behoves continuing education to improve the conditions of this evolution, to facilitate this progressive march towards the ultimate term of

existence, by allowing each age its complete realization and fulfilment, while respecting all differences.

In concrete terms, this would imply a different vision of each age's itinerary and a will to fight segregation in this field, which would reduce conflicts between generations. This would also imply an alternative conception of work, a renewal of schooling and a more precise knowledge of the capacities and dynamisms of aging people.

Many of the aged are left behind because society has forced them to drop out of school during their youth. The possibility of re-allocating study and work throughout one's life, - something which is finally being considered - would help considerably in creating a different image of both the elders and the young. In 1976, during a week devoted to "L'âge et la vie", Jacques Grand'Maison wrote: "I believe that the crises of both school and retirement will remain without solution, if work, as an experience, is not radically reorganized". This statement was confirmed by M. Philibert who said: "Reserving one age for study, another for action and a third for nothingness is to transform progress into a succession of frustrations. The first frustration is felt; the second is disguised and compensated for, and the last is total and irreparable. According to our way of life, preparation is still being made while there is a desire for action; this is followed by good usage and enjoyment, and finally by exclusion. In order for each individual's life to provide opportunity for sustained growth and an ascending social career, study must accompany action and be combined with it throughout life...".

These transformations are a fact of civilization. Public opinion has begun to notice them, but they have already for some time been a matter of concern for theoreticians - and practitioners - of continuing education. CEFA, in its report, called the attention of the government and the population to the difficult situation of aging

workers and the necessity of taking appropriate educational steps. It stated: "Although access to educational activities during the years of active life (at least those preceding retirement) does not necessarily improve the living conditions of adults (income - health), such access may greatly improve the development of their potential and therefore have positive results on these people's retired life. This approach will be essential in the years to come: the individual would gain by an active retired life marked by participation and fulfilment, and our society would gain through reduced social costs as well as through social dynamism[11]".

This is undoubtedly a challenge. It certainly is an omission to be corrected. This is what we must now consider after analyzing the recent - and often brutal - phenomenon of retirement.

CHAPTER 2: Termination of Work and Retirement

"By arbitrarily imposing an interruption of activity upon an important group of citizens, industrial society has turned them into a group apart which it considers and treats as such".

G. Azmar[1]

"After having lived my kind of life, with its occasionally exciting things, one of the chances I had was to be able to now lead a new life in freedom...".

Adret[2]

Retiring a difficult transition

Men and women of yesteryear lived according to tradition. They had rituals for each age of life, for each important event of their existence. Without having to constantly seek the meaning of situations, they could, from a kind of cultural reservoir, draw upon perfect models to regulate their action. Even death, like any other "transition" in life, was surrounded by a ritual which gave it meaning. Those days are gone. Nevertheless, the transition from one age to another in the cycle of life still requires adjusting to a new status and restructuring one's role in life. The transition from active life to what is now termed "retirement" is for every individual an unprecedented rupture. Its more or less brutal arrival affects the worker's professional status and often leaves him helpless, without any accompanying ritual, without symbols to refer to (except the fatal day's pathetic gift), without ideological or professional support. The contemporary myths of "free time", of

"permanent holidays" are but a façade for silent poverty, painful solitude and often profound anxiety.

Therefore, where do we stand in regard to this phenomenon, in regard to definite termination of work? The first finding is that of a series of variations denoting contradictory perceptions.

The term "Retirement"

Retirement in itself is an ambiguous term. This lugubrious-sounding word hails social death, and evokes retreating into the shelter of defeat as well as the workers' rest. What about reality? It may be interesting to recall that the definition of the phases of life in the late 19th century industrial society was given by the State[3]. The social ascent of the bourgeoisie, which needed officers and staff for the progress of industry and commerce, in turn prolonged schooling and created the status of the adolescent. Another status, that of the retired person, was a result of the reform brought about by the dynamism of the labour movement which, in its desire to improve working conditions, sought the reduction of daily working hours and demanded security, both economic and social, during retirement. Thus a division between new age classes became apparent. The adolescent was identified with "preparation for life"; he became "socialized". The retired person was "allowed to go"; he "deserved to rest". He was "desocialized"! The theory of "disengagement" underlies the negative vision of leisure as non-work.

The condition of retired persons is therefore a recent invention... perhaps condemned to an early demise, according to a brief by the Institute of Political Research of Montreal, prepared by Mrs. Schwartz-Morgan. She proposes as a hypothesis that possibly the idea of retirement is prematurely "growing old[4]". This non-gratuitous proposition is supported by physiological, economic and demographic indications which make it plausible.

Modalities and differences

For more than a century, retirement has been causing this form of rupture. What are its consequences for the last third of one's life? The time has come to determine its modalities and differences.

Let it first be emphasized that it is impossible to place on the same level those who are 50 years old and those who are nearing the end of their existence. Grouping adults from 50 to 90 years under the common term of "old people" is an absurdity illustrating society's incomprehension. There emerges therefore the new concept of Fourth Age, whereby a person is considered and considers himself or herself as an "old person". This semantic detail has its importance, notes Mrs Schwartz, since it has the effect of suppressing all the "negative" connotations of the expression "Third Age". Thus the latter imperceptibly rejoins the age of maturity, that of active life. This has yet to be seen.

The present situation has led us - for analytical purposes - to determine three distinct stages in this phase of life. These stages emphasize both the urgent problems facing Québec society and the differences in behaviour resulting from the "condition" of being retired. The three stages proposed are: 1) The Tragic Age; 2) The New Age; 3) Old Age.

I. The Tragic Age

A few facts

A 54 year old engineer loses his job while others of the same age keep their employment. He experiences an "early" devaluation, feels discredited in the eyes of his children, is inclined to feel guilt and to attribute his situation to his incompetence rather than to the structural problems of society[5].

An executive of an important company is forced into "early" retirement with other workers (650 lay-offs on the same day). He is completely bewildered, and does not know what to do. He is offered the chairmanship of a group of elderly persons. He is 50 years old.

A producer with the N.F.B. experiences mild health problems. He pays a visit to the center's nurse. He is asked: "Have you ever thought about retiring?" He is 52... and does not understand the question.

In order to keep her job, a secretary must follow a course in word processing. Unfortunately, this training does not take her age into account. She is 52, is unable to keep up with the rhythm and has difficulty following the courses with younger colleagues.

An unprecedented phenomenon

The above facts illustrate the necessity for considering the situation of men and women who are abandoned at the age of 45 or 50. Of course, many are unemployed or placed on availability, but they are increasingly made to retire and become permanently out of work. This is an unprecedented phenomenon creating "a new wave of excluded people", old by degree. The laws of economy, as a collective, indeed a compulsory measure, brutally command their exclusion. It is not necessary to recall at length the causes of this situation: the prevailing economic crisis throughout the Western World, the absence of a policy of full employment, the multitude of technological changes, the negative attitude of society towards aging, the relation of cause and effect between the arrival of young employees into a business and the departure of old employees.

A tragedy

In contrast to older persons or to those who "voluntarily" have gone into early retirement[6], these persons are unprepared either socially or economically. Their experience is a real psychological tragedy, a true alienation. This creates disappointment as well as deep frustration and a feeling of guilt. There is no policy strong enough to assist persons, women in particular, who are affected by these exclusionary measures. There is a similarity between the young of 30 or 35 who are idle and these people who have reached maturity, are in full control of their potential and are condemned to social uselessness. This sometimes leads to a phenomenon of self-destruction which may even end in suicide. Henri Bernard, a teacher approaching retirement describes this feeling of disappointment:

Alienation

"It is well known that the bureaucratic system is not concerned with nuances; it will not even note the abysmal difference between ordinary physical equipment and human beings. Thus our system could at least rationalize the diminishing of labour just as it depreciates fixed assets, machinery and rolling material. Granted that, within a system of production of goods and services, man is used as an ordinary instrument of productivity, why not submit him also to the accounting rule of declassification?... This way of discarding workers is odious[7]".

Guilt

During an interview with retired teachers, the Commission de l'éducation des adultes observed the loss of motivation of these ex-teachers who, following the euphoria of ceasing work, are now

depressed and inclined to feel responsible for the employment crisis in the field of teaching. "I am the one who is wrong". In persons who are still young, this attitude is serious, since it creates "down-and outs" who have lost confidence in themselves. On the part of society, it is a denial of hard-earned experience, a rejection of real resources and a self-depriving of rich "human capital".

Urgent problems

This obviously complex situation demands urgent consideration by public authorities. It is emphasized that beyond its not-inconsiderable economic implication[7] the situation conceals fundamental human and social problems which are analyzed and interpreted in different ways according to various individuals, parties and ideologies. These problems concern the very meaning of work. Is value attached only to what is economically productive? As our 20th century is ending in full mutation, must we concentrate our entire life on work? What are the reasons for demanding the reduction of working hours? Or for demanding the lowering of the retirement age? Could the objective be worksharing, with better living conditions, or improved working conditions? What are the methods to be favored?

The inescapable finding is that if these serious questions involving social choices were answered, then the situation of many adults who have reached the age of maturity would surely be modified.

The situation of women

It is important at this point to draw attention to the situation of women. Women, earlier than men, suffer the shock of ruptures, separations, and "voids" caused by the departure of their children.

More often than men, they suddenly lose their spouses. After years of education and service at home, they find themselves without serious chances of finding work. Moreover, they are the first victims of a system which, for most of them, transforms retirement into a period of poverty. It is simpler to let them speak for themselves:

> "For the last 10 years, I have been working and was paid the minimum wage, like many other women workers in Québec. Like many of them, I am also non-unionized. I therefore don't know what "job security" means. This is the third company that has hired me without any pension fund or any other social benefits. Women are excluded from retirement... It's no surprise to end up a pauper at 65".

> "We are financially dependent on our husbands. Today, nobody can afford to be old... but to be old women... is worse. You work your whole life without a salary. And now you find yourself without the benefit of the Québec Pension Fund or you must wait until the fateful age of 65 to become eligible for the Federal old age pension. The only pleasure to be gained, apart from the small amount, is receiving a cheque in your own name, for the FIRST time in your whole life!..."

> "It is scandalous to be considered as "dependents" on our husbands' income tax reports. Either as married persons or under the present structures of pension funds, nowhere are women recognized as "whole persons". Is this the reward for a lifetime of work?".

> "How can a woman not feel she is growing old? If I speak with my husband, he can't answer me properly; at his age, he's worried about his approaching retirement and feels defeated and depressed".

These testimonies, drawn from the "Seminar on the Condition of Women 50 Years and Over", reflect the difficulties of women who have decided to escape this unfair situation and have agreed to group themselves together. This is not to mention those who are so helpless - or so ashamed - that they refuse to speak or get out of their situation. There are great miseries which remain dignified and silent. The tragic age is even more so for women than for men: it often lasts until death.

II- The New Age

Retirement, whether taken or imposed, means settling down into a new way of life, a "new age", which was christened "The Third". This label is now highly disputed since it acknowledges a form of discrimination against persons because of their age and, by the same token, because of their excluded status.

Changes

a) in space

The condition of being retired can be viewed within the perspective of the two coordinates of human life: space and time. Its existential characteristic is a series of changes in space, at both the social and family levels. Each individual creates his space according to his potential, which allows him to find his identity. He grows accustomed to people and places which, being a familiar and daily experience, give coherence and justification to his life. But as he grows old, changes take place in each of his spheres of

activity: emotional ruptures, physical and material separations, giving up work or a very large house. We are told: "We went from a 9 room to a 4 room and finally to a 2 room apartment". Human space gradually shrinks, provoking sometimes unforeseen "disorientation" or even alienation. Men and women who had developed their self-esteem and values through their possessions, who had acquired a certain degree of influence in their milieu, who, through their participation in community and social life, had gained a certain measure of recognition, develop feelings of melancholy or even anxiety as a result of this "scaling down" of their life-space.

b) in time

The reduction of space facilitates understanding the flight, the "restriction" of time. Whereas at the outset of active life, time is perceived as the possibility of developing, of making plans, it may, along with retired life, assume a destructive aspect. Time is however not merely negative; it has become, as we are given to understand, liberated time, free time. This again is ambiguous, since this period of life may either be a source of inconvenience, of dependency, or "disorder", or an opportunity for freedom and enrichment. When leaving the well-regulated and planned world of work, a person is certainly freed from often wearisome constraints, but he is also deprived of the points of reference which gave a certain rhythm to his life. Having lived within a well-organized - usually by others - system, he has failed to learn "in time" to live by himself.

There are now clear signs of a developing realization that it was necessary to "help people not to merely kill time". But the remedy may turn out to be worse than the illness. The following advertisement is an example: "Give us your vacation time and we will take care of the rest. We will take charge of your freedom". A ready and eager staff is devoted to showing elderly people how to

"occupy" their time. Time that is handed over to others, for others to give it content and imagination, is the very antithesis of time that has been freed.

Moreover, the accelerated social changes (which some describe as the destructuring of our society) have fundamentally altered the man-time relation and, by the same token, the meaning of growing old.

The elderly person knows that the models which framed his existence will not be followed by his children. Moreover, the ideas of transcendency and hope in an afterlife are known to be declining.

"Should mankind destroy itself, as it is now capable of doing at any moment, accidentally or in a moment of folly, the real tragedy is perhaps not in the simultaneous death of all human beings, as every one is mortal... the real tragedy is in the rupture of the thread of history, in the rejection and destructurization of the horizons of future generations. Until now, the future generations were a hidden, albeit fundamental, dimension of humanity[8]".

Various modes of retirement

The modifications in space and time lead to various modes of retirement, according to the impact they produce on each elderly person. A study conducted by Yvonne Gognalons reveals that as soon as socio-professional activity ceases, most of the expectations and centers of interest are expressed in terms of leisure activities. However, most retired persons will not possess the material nor the cultural means to realize such projects. The results of this inquiry tie in with the consultations carried out in Québec. They are briefly as follows:

- Leisure-retirement[9], both as a project of self-fulfilment after a work-filled life and as a project of heightened leisure activities with more free time on hand, is the most popular among all social classes.

A product of industrial society, this mode of retirement is dynamically based on the development of values associated with free time.

It may be added that this mode of retirement may assume different forms according to whether individualistic or social values are preferred. Some may be content to live on the enjoyment of cultural and material things, to "consume" leisure and cultural activities.

Others may attempt a second or even a third career, while a last group may engage in various forms of service or volunteer work.

- A variation of leisure-retirement is rest-retirement. This is favored mostly by the male element as a form of liberation from the constraints of the former work-frame.

-Poverty-retirement, mostly female, is the lot of those who held the least jobs. This mode of retirement is characterized by solitude or co-habitation and is limited to bare socio-economic dimensions.

Two other modes -less significant statistically - are also found: 1) self-devaluating-retirement which is experienced in two ways: firstly, work being considered as a symbol of social status and influence, retirement is perceived as a time of social uselessness, boredom and withdrawal into the conjugal unit; secondly, financial constraints will bring about this process of social devaluation; 2) family-retirement, found mostly in the case of women living alone, who have decided to cohabit with their children or other people.

-Wisdom-retirement, - which does not mean that all elders are endowed with wisdom - has not been considered in this study. However, it seems that some people -perhaps more than one might imagine - favour "being" to "doing" and use this period for giving life a new direction for reflecting and living in maturity and accepting life's limitations, successive losses as well as its inevitable end. Self-accomplishment is realized through personal objectives, such as writing memoirs, stories or simply through daily contacts with others.

These portrayals of the condition of retired persons should, in the first place, guide those who are due for retirement and, secondly, the various participants in retirement, in order to improve the situation. Education in particular may find some points of reference here.

We may even state that primary education, that of chilhood, and adolescence, remains the necessary "pre-requisite" for personal development and healthy socialization; it also offers the possibility of "managing" freely one's life, and keeping control over the problems that arise during the course of one's existence.

Continuing education, or whatever it may be called, is also essential to ensure, throughout adult life, the necessary changes and adaptations, not only in the fields of work and professional life, but also in one's emotional life, in the search for equilibrium, the realization of family, social and political goals and the discovery of active leisure and its role in personal fulfilment.

Continuing education is finally necessary to prepare for retirement and master the required skills for fulfilling new social roles, as well as attaining real individual autonomy.

We cannot ignore the many compensatory roles played by education, such as correcting errors along the way, compensating injustices, prejudices or simple accidents which may have deprived individuals of their education, whether general or basic, or finally facilitating a transition which, alone and resourceless, such individuals would find difficult to achieve.

The situation of retired persons shows that the inequality of individuals confronted with this condition and with the fact of growing old is a fair reflection of the inequalities of life. These inequalities are in most cases the result of the way society is organized.

According to A.M. Guillemard, "holding a definite place in the production process, holding a specific position within the cultural system leads inescapably to social death".

This situation is relatively recent in North American society. It is the result of the break-down of traditional social structures without compensatory transformation in living and working conditions. Retired persons were "abandoned" without a thought about promoting the creation of new roles within the community. This would have kept them active and would have salvaged their dignity.

III- Old Age

Old age must be evoked. It is the ultimate phase of aging. Everyone knows grand old men, ranging from our "National Jack Rabbit" who, at 108, still skis along the Laurentian trails, to the poor, blind "Monsieur Journault" who lived alone - but happy - in a small Montreal shanty (he became known through an NFB film), and also the grand old lady of 83, riddled with arthritis, who still takes courses in German and Italian and who, in spite of her disability, gets around with the help of her husband, giving wonderful lectures

to the young and the not-so-young at a cultural center. Obviously, there are happy old people. But many, unfortunately, live secretly and obscurely in great distress, either in luxurious institutions or in clandestine homes. There are daily incidents of "dumping" or abandoning of undesirable old people - without name or address - for example, at the hospital's emergency entrance.

Old people's last years are often accompanied by physical dependency and moral misery. It should be remembered that the majority of very old people are women. A paper prepared by a task force in gerontology at the DSC[10] of region 06-A (Montreal) observes that "population aging is a female phenomenon", and that, consequently: "the problem of old age is therefore also that of lonely women".

Can education contribute something to this field? What follows can hardly be written. The fear, indeed the disgust, of active adults confronted with this suffering too often inhibits simple human gestures which could accompany elders - our parents - in the ultimate achievement of their life. Contemporary society does not understand this form of solidarity. What degree of attention is being given, either in the family or in the school, to learning about and understanding the process of growing old? Does "fundamental education" include such teaching as, besides the basic intellectual ones,the ones which might help in living humanely, both individually and collectively? When will we have a general policy on "Third Age"? asks Claire Dutrisac.

Is not autonomy the key-word for life and life in retirement? This can be learned and acquired. The following chapter will attempt to determine what might help ensure autonomy and will consider how education can contribute to autonomy.

CHAPTER 3: Needs, Expectations, Rights...

> "For certain persons, the ways of measuring time itself may be fast or slow... Time may be likened to a special express train to premature old age. But on a parallel track there are return trains, that run just as fast".
>
> Marcel Proust

Satisfying needs or respecting rights

What might be the needs and desires of men and women confronted with the condition of aging and the situation of retirement? Who are these men and women? A rather startling answer was given by an old lady during an interview. "Leave us alone!" she said. This attitude must be emphasized at the outset because of its deeper implications. It both questions and challenges the studies and the increasingly frequent interventions concerning the aged.

It would appear that the group of 60 year olds or more requires special measures since services and programs have increased for the last two decades. This testifies to the belief that the elderly "are missing out" and are in need. Some argue that this idea might justify the present policy. However, others hold the view that this is not a question of needs, but of fair chances, rights and opportunities unjustly denied.

The ambiguity of the situation can probably be traced to two ideologies, two different views of age and the condition of retirement. The former acknowledges a biological fact, being the gradual deterioration of persons perceived as a fragile population at risk; the latter view, a more courageous one, promotes an attitude

of vindication, or even contestation, a social approach based on respect for human rights.

During its consultations, the CEA listened to senior citizens and had the opportunity of observing these differences. One must become familiar with this variety of interests and expectations, if adequate responses are to be given to them. This variety also points to the difficulty involved in considering various options and proposing various solutions. The following are concrete examples of these problems.

Some examples

In an old age home comprising 455 persons whose average age is 82, it is essential to be prepared for this phase of life known as old age. For this purpose, one's lifestyle has to change, for example, by moving and accepting physical limitations or illnesses.

The choice of a home for elderly persons is motivated by the need for security (presence of medical personnel), independence from the family and children (not being a burden to them), by freedom from domestic worries and finally, by the fear of solitude. However, it is considered important to be actively involved in one's milieu, through volunteer work and by playing a different role in one's family, particularly among the young. Leisure activities (playing bridge, travelling), sports (cross-country skiing, mini-golf), cultural activities (attending courses, lectures, joining a choir) are vital.

A group of persons living at home, who belong to an association, considered the problem: at what age does one become old? The answer was: "It depends on each person's will; a person grows old by

simply deciding to let himself or herself do so. So long as a person is willing to get involved and learn, he or she will gain experience, above all else. Age is measured by one's degree of activity".

The elders say: "Society seems to be surprised by the kind of needs we express and by the strong popularity of leisure and entertainment activities. It must be understood, first, that a great number of us, elderly people, were deprived of leisure throughout our lives, either because of the length of the work week or because of family obligations and limited incomes; secondly, that leisure activities are among the best ways of overcoming loneliness by making friends and giving a new meaning to life. After all, are we not told that we are heading towards a leisure society?". (The people interviewed are under the impression that this promised era has arrived!).

In a liaison center for various organizations, it was found that "presently retired persons are, on the average, poorly educated and therefore ill-prepared for retirement. The phenomenon of compulsory preretirement for workers at an early age (60 or 50) has increased in the last 2 or 3 years. Along with the current technological changes (robotics, bureautics), the tendency towards premature "shelving" of workers is expected to accelerate. This creates an enormous need for preparing aged or aging people for their retirement. There is a need to provide them with the means and education so that they may live a happy retirement, and at the same time play a valuable role in society, as is their right. At a round table conference of participants with valuable experience in working with the elderly, one participant who lives among the underprivileged, pointed out the following ambiguities and expressed these warnings, in spite of the progress made during the last 20 years:

- At an age when their energy decreases, people are forced to stop their education in spite of their desire to take themselves in hand. Because they often require medication and hospital care... the

elderly become the poor cousins of education. A better measure of justice should be demanded. Education fails to attain its fundamental objectives if it stops at a certain age.

- Education should serve as a bond or bridge between generations, should prevent discrimination and finally, should prevent the alienation of elderly people.

- Education should allow retired persons to claim their rights as well as assume their responsibilities.

- Finally, education should bring the elderly back to fundamentals. In fact, it is imperative that they think about themselves before being asked to help others. If they take charge of themselves, their entire milieu will benefit.

Another participant declared: "We know little about elderly people, we have more contact with their representatives, who are better educated and more privileged. The majority of elderly people are undereducated and were not prepared at school for a better life".

To end this list, here are two interesting testimonies:

> "The cause of my illness is knowing that I have so much knowledge but cannot make anyone benefit from it" (retired teacher).
>
> "Being able to make plans, that is a reality. It makes life worth living" (75 year old lady).

From these examples, supported by the findings of two seminars of the Association Québecoise de gérontologie[1], the following conclusions may be drawn:

Basic need

First, concerning basic needs, the requirements of the elderly are the same as those of other classes of people. They concern security and health. What is different about them are the methods of satisfying these needs.

a)material security

(Old age Security pension:
Ottawa: 263.78$
(taxable). Q.P.P.: 387,50$
651,28$.
Guaranteed suppl. income: 265,60$.
(non-taxable).

It would be trite to repeat that the drop in resources which comes with retirement causes deep anxiety in many people. During a period of inflation such as the present one, there is a dramatic loss of income for those who receive only their Old Age pension. The greater number live below the poverty line. A couple's income is often insufficient. Most women have never contributed to retirement funds or pension funds or, if they did so, it was only for short periods of time. For the many single women or widows, the situation is even more serious. Their limited income often forces these elderly people to spend too large a portion of their budget on rent and to forego other equally important and more fulfilling needs. Most of these people live in apartments ill-adapted to their needs.

Yet, the quality of environment has considerable influence on behaviour. During a meeting at the St.Vallier Community Center (in Québec City), it was emphasized that the reception committee favored setting up a bank of decent apartments at reasonable costs. "A small home is better than a large away-from-home".

b)health

The greater number of demands made to organizations concern health. The progress of hygiene and medicine, awareness of declining forces and publicity concerning the quality of life have sensitized the elderly about physical fitness. It is said: "Health is the priority; with good health, activities can be pursued". "One must be in reasonably good health, or else it would be impossible to grow old happily[2]". Thus health appears as a source of vital energy and a means of self-realization at other levels. Many request information and seek activities focussed on concrete needs such as dietetics, physical education, relaxation, swimming, etc. They also ask for courses on preparing for death... For the benefit of sick people who are losing their autonomy, emphasis is placed on institutions for the chronically ill and adequate home-care services, as the latter are presently ill-adapted and do not constitute a worthwhile alternative.

The need for "prevention"

It seems important to emphasize that sometimes, fears hide unidentified or unacknowledged needs. There is obviously the fear of being robbed or assaulted, which hides a need for security. The elderly no longer wish to go out at night; therefore, it is important to provide day-time educational services and cultural activities. Furthermore, manifesting a handicap such as the rapid impairment of hearing or vision or memory often hides nostalgia or a deeper loss, that of irretrievable youth. More often, a relative or a friend's physical or mental deterioration will make a person

visualize through the other what he or she might perhaps some day become. Thus, without receiving explicit requests, it becomes possible to identify either a need for "prevention" or an appeal for comfort, security and company. This kind of preventive action, so important in continuing education as well as gerontology, may take the form of educational talks and training for new lifestyles, according to various pedagogical methods.

It is clear that this need for prevention depends on family and social environment, on emotional support as well as on existing services.

Needs for "self-realization"

Security and health however do not suffice. Additional needs appear as a result of ruptures, separations due to bereavements and age or as a result of other problems related to our complex daily life or, finally, as a result of other requirements related to the desire for self-realization.

The association representatives met by the CEA enumerated some of them:

communication needs (loneliness, problems of expression, lack of family relations), needs arising out of negative experiences, for example, the complexity of the hospital system, of the M.S.A., forms of all kinds to be filled out...

retirement needs: it is felt that the current education system is far too concerned with the outward aspect of the elderly person, e.g. financial management, but not enough with the inward aspects of this person: e.g. his relations with the family, within the couple, the wife's adaptation to her husband's retirement, to the departure of her children, etc.

One must also include another series of expectations which are increasingly, though not universally, felt or desired:

There is a concern about pursuing one's culture and development, primarily for one's self, but also in order to keep abreast of current world problems and to understand one's children and grandchildren;

There is a concern about realizing the dreams of one's youth, or correcting the inadequacies of one's basic education which, in some cases, was very short: ranging from learning to read right up to writing novels or biographies and, by the way, drawing or even data processing;

There is, for many, a concern about remaining useful; thus the younger retired persons (55 years) take courses in volunteer work and working in homes; there is a desire among a number of other people for leisure and pastime activities. Finally, there is an oft-expressed need for spiritual renewal, for assistance in contemplating advanced old age and death.

The needs to be satisfied and the expectations to be met may, at times, give rise to new forms of expression, symptomatic of a change of perspective and an awareness of rights to be respected. Persons grouped together maintain the need for their own platforms in order to impose a fair representation of their views and interests in society's decision making process. This is the case of the A.Q.D.R. (Association québécoise pour la défense des droits des retraités et des pré-retraités) (Québec Association for the Defence of Rights of Retired and Pre-retired Persons).

To summarize, the elderly, who are different because of their age, sex, socio-economic situation, culture and motivation, express different expectations and require different services. Services

should be available to satisfy immediate needs such as health, physical activities and financial management. Efforts should also be made to satisfy the needs for development, such as joining and participating in groups, feeling useful and becoming integrated into society. All this should be done with due respect for the various categories of people. Apart from these elderly Quebecers encountered at associations, clubs and C.L.S.Cs., there are others living in obscurity, who are unable to make themselves heard. This may be due to a kind of resignation or passive acceptance of their particular retirement situation. An education policy should not overlook them and should find a way of reaching them, bearing in mind that old age often bears the mark of life's early years. The educational deficiencies of the early phases of life often weigh heavily on the later ones. "It is never too late", noted a person who, thanks to an educational center, made a fresh start of his life at 60, rediscovered himself and understood that, in a post-work period, some measure of wisdom could be acquired.

Dynamism

Researchers at the University of Sherbrooke[3] suggest reasons for these fresh starts. This is contained in a paper stressing the maintenance and even the improvement, with aging, of "positive dynamism". This implies "a sustained capacity for action or reaction, at the biological, psychological or psycho-social levels, which actually or potentially contributes to maintaining the individuals' autonomy and fulfilment". The findings of their inquiry resulted in the following statements:

- physical mobility is one of the elements of longevity;

- the capacity to learn and therefore evolve and adapt varies to a greater degree according to personality traits than according to age;

- the capacity to adapt increases with social involvement and the broadening of social contacts.

The twilight myth

Interviews have corroborated these scientific observations. The key-resources identified by the persons consulted would be: health, will and courage, the capacity to relate, the sense of wonder, religious beliefs, serenity and a tendency to live in the present, to be realistic and tolerant. These are the many elements which, without generalizing, reveal increasingly specific characteristics of this phase of human development. This phase is therefore perceived not as a mere period of decline but rather as a stage, perhaps the most decisive one, of progress in life. "The general decline of intelligence during old age is largely a myth". "During the last 10 years", write P.B. Baltes and W. Schaie, "we have strived for a better understanding of the intellectual faculty in old people. Our results contradict conventional stereotypes and provide a more optimistic view of the question. We have found that, when an old man proudly says: "I am in full possession of all my faculties", this could very well be true".

Needs and expectations are expressed. Rights are claimed. The initiatives taken by the elderly themselves demonstrate the existence of potentialities. These are the findings that, on the part of individuals and communities, call for positive action as well as fair acknowledgement of the richness and experience associated with age.

Does the recent policy statement and plan of action concerning adult education have anything to say on this subject? Nothing at all!

CHAPTER 4: Services and Roles...

"There can be no country without grandfathers".

Roch Carrier

"Humanity lives on because, for thousands of years, if has preserved knowledge essential for its survival. There is a risk that the present generation might ignore this. And, in the event of some catastrophy, we might perhaps be more vulnerable than our ancestors. One of the tasks of the "third age" is to establish a bridge between generations".

A. Beauchamp

Challenges to meet

- an increasing number of elderly persons;

- urbanized families who are often displaced and have given up their supportive role or are incapable of assuming it;

- an economic situation (crisis, unemployment) which increasingly shelves young men and women;

- technological changes which challenge the labor civilization.

These are the many challenges to Québec society which were outlined in the preceding chapters. Confronted with our society's unjustifiable attitude of condoning the rejection of those who built the world we live in, now that they are no longer productive, what is there to be done?

Questions to be asked

It is timely to examine how the world of education views this situation. In particular, it is timely to assess, within the policy on adult education, the place given to those who, 15 years hence, will form 12% of the population. It will however be proper to go further and ask more fundamental questions, since the way has not yet been found whereby elderly persons can be integrated into the social process. Without minimizing the importance of those services essential to the autonomous process of aging and reaching advanced age, dare we ask the elderly themselves the following questions: are you asking for those services best suited to assist in the process of aging, in order to pursue your own development and transform society? What can you do for this society? What are you willing to do?

One might say: these are theoretical questions! History shows that in such questions, lie the germs of future practices. If changes have been taking place for more than 15 years, it is because efforts at sensitizing people were undertaken. The problems and the slow pace of the process are due most probably to the constant preference for a sectorial approach to problems, to the detriment of an approach that would integrate all their elements[1]. A specific need is given an endless specific answer; the situation becomes professionalized, institutionalized and sometimes ends up being dehumanized or infantilized.

"Specialists" are required for everything: for birth, for growing up, growing old and even to die!

Inventory of services

The CEA's research and its consultations have resulted in setting up an inventory of existing services. What is being done is considerable and it is not easy to summarize the variety of

activities offered to the community. An activity may be defined as: a set of educational measures aimed at informing participants or at developing particular skills. Most school boards across Québec offer "preparation for retirement" courses, or are in a position to answer certain specific needs in retired persons[2]. The services offered to pre-retired persons vary from region to region and from year to year, according to selected priorities and available budgets.

Within the framework of their services to the community, and their adult educational services, many CEGEPs have organized programs for the third age. The objectives of these programs may be summarized as follows:

Preventing problems that are specific to various ages of life, therefore including preparation for retirement; taking charge of one's self and providing answers to the expectations voiced by the elderly clientele.

There has been an increase in a variety of activities which are peculiar to each CEGEP and are focussed on concrete needs (e.g.: health, living conditions, solitude, etc.), or which favor creativity at the individual and collective levels.

Unfortunately, the present budgetary restrictions have harmed these new practices and reduced their momentum. It is said that: "That image of the elderly pales by comparison with that of other groups; we get the impression of having missed our chance; access to services is more difficult. This is irritating".

Many universities work in the same direction and offer preparatory services for retirement or a selection of courses adapted for retired persons. One of these universities offers "cultural visits for the elderly" (Elderhostels) while another organizes training sessions for animators involved with the elderly, provides technical assistance to

groups of retired persons and is also involved with labor movements for promoting preparation for retirement among workers. Télé-Université offers a course which is a reflection on aging and is available province-wide.

Besides this training and these services "in the field", it is relevant to mention the university research centers in gerontology. There are laboratories of social gerontology or research programs in eight Québec universities. In addition, the Québec Association of Gerontology comprises some 300 members and organizes a yearly seminar on subjects related to age and retirement.

Within the Social Affairs network

To these institutions must be added those of the Social Affairs network which, in addition to a few courses concerning prevention and information to retired people, are beginning to be concerned about the need for education in gerontology. According to the above mentioned inquiry, there has been until now little education in the CLSCs, CSSs and other institutions. The CLSCs have no support structures for updating educational programs; they are mainly answering specific needs. Educational needs are nevertheless great in these milieux. As a consequence, some institutions have communicated with college-level teaching institutions to ask for tailor-made educational programs for their participants.

The findings of the inquiry were confirmed by the CEA's visits: the training of educators and of participants in particular seems to be primordial. It was said; "There are too many absurdities like that of the young 20 year old who comes along to offer the elderly information on their sex life... or "lectures" them on preparing for death!" On the subject of resource-persons, people met at a CSLC in the region of Québec voiced their opposition, generally, to outside resources, the reason being that a resource-person "is primarily a

person with experience". On this subject, they stress the attitude of their CSLC which does not intervene on their behalf and limits itself to acting as a counsel-group, leaving them all the desired freedom of action. In their opinion, one can become a resource-person by learning through listening and helping. Volunteer work is the way to forget problems and be truly alive. To support this, they speak of the widow who, after three years of solitude, had reached the depths of depression, and who is presently the secretary of the paper's editorial committee (she had to learn everything, from drawing to typing and working in committees). She told her children that she would reserve one day a week for them, her commitments taking up the rest of her time. The group responsible for this paper is conscious that the services it provides for the elderly people are, in the end, rendered to the whole community.

Independent organizations

This new awareness is characteristic of most independent organizations. They are so numerous that compiling a list is practically impossible - and superfluous. Some are impressive associations while others are unknown groups in the remotest regions of Québec. The information media sometimes mention them, in particular "Retraite Action" at Radio-Québec and "A votre service" at Radio-Canada. The former organizations are generously subsidized while the latter are poor and survive through hard-work and goodwill. Here are some of them:

- The Fédération de l'âge d'or du Québec (FADOQ) which has 150 000 members distributed among 18 regions and includes 100 clubs. Founded to satisfy leisure needs, it is now moving towards social interventions.

- Forum for Senior Citizens, in Montreal, exists since 1965 and was founded by a group of anglophones in order to improve their quality of life. Its present function is to act as a liaison-agent between some 100 organizations and to act, occasionally, as their representative with government agencies (600 members);

- L'Association québécoise pour les droits des retraités (AQDR) et des pré-retraités, founded in 1980, has presently more than 40 sections throughout the province. Claims-minded, it regularly publishes Manifestoes based on well-researched studies (The Economic Situation of the Elderly; Growing Old at Home - On Apartment Living - Nutrition for the Third Age). In 1983, a large exhibition in the form of posters depicting the life and problems of the third age, was launched during training sessions for its members;

- La Fondation culturelle Jean-de-Brébeuf, founded in 1977, has approximately 1 000 members. Affiliated to Third Age universities, it proposes various workshops, conferences and seminars on any topic suggested by adults and reflecting their desires;

- L'Académie de gérontologie de l'Outaouais (AGEO) founded by the University of Québec at Hull, has given the region an interesting tool for action, both at the level of structures as well as in the field of intervention and has taken on the mission of answering the needs of the third age.

In 1983, Québec city saw the launching of La Fédération québécoise des retraités concerned with homes for the elderly and reception centers, etc.

The OVEPs, organismes volontaires d'éducation populaire (Voluntary Organizations for Popular Education) include many groups of retired people.

But in conjunction with all these organized centers, there are many clubs and small associations either in villages or in districts of large cities. These, in various ways, work to improve the life of the elderly (this goes from a tenants' association to a handicraft center or theatre groups).

Employers, unions

It is impossible to ignore what takes place among employers and unions.

In fact, a certain number of employers offer their employees courses preparing them for retirement (e.g. Radio-Canada, Shell, Culinar, General Foods, etc.). The programs are aimed at executives as well as employees and cover the basic themes: attitudes concerning retirement and the process of aging, health, use of time, financial management, housing and traveling. This preparation is in the form of seminars, workshops and courses. It is organized with the help of consultants, teaching institutions or by retired persons who have personally adjusted to their situation and are able to speak about the problems that are an integral part of retired life.

Unions have always been concerned with the question of retirement, having in the first place contributed to creating the term, in order to identify the post-work period. Along the years, they have found that it was not enough to have guaranteed security and a decent standard of living after a life of work, but that it was necessary to think in terms of prevention in order to mitigate the negative effects of the rupture and to prevent workers from dying due to a lack of preparation. They have begun holding study sessions on preparation for retirement, but their present-day concern - with the problems of labor and unemployment - is to finally obtain the "educational leave of absence" which was successfully instituted in many countries.

There can be no denial of the value of all these groups and of the very important roles they play in providing a kind of status for retired persons. Regardless of their number and diversity, these groups do not succeed in reaching all elderly people. More are required in order to free additional elderly persons from their solitude and allow them to discover a new social reinsertion. The discoveries the elderly make, their meetings and their increased interest in today's world allow them to participate as equals in family communications and promote their relations with their milieu, provided however that the "regulars" of these centers do not behave as ordinary "consumers" of trips and courses, and that these places become real centers of social and educational innovation.

Functions and roles of elderly persons

The dynamism observed within these associations and groups and the activities that take place among them give a glimpse of the functions which elderly people can fill in society and education, in the wide sense of this term.

The role of grandparents

Exchanges of services between generations were highly important before the introduction of social security and other forms of social aid to the elderly. The withdrawal of the conjugal family into itself, along with the phenomenon of urbanization has, at one and the same time, brought about the gradual disappearance of the relationship it previously enjoyed with grandparents. However, within our society in full transformation, the function of grandparents, although modified, is far from being non-existent. They are the ones on whom family continuity rests. They are its representatives with the young at a time when horizontal relations are increasingly collapsing. "What can I do for my grandchild, says an 84 year old grandmother? I am just there, in case he might need

me". Today, it is not uncommon to find more harmonious relations between grandchildren and grandparents than between children and parents.

It seems important to emphasize here a new role for retired persons, that of substitute grandparents. For the young, they project the image of stability and security, in the presence of social and economic uncertainty. They have time to listen, supervise and also give advice. Steinberg's employees, for example, have organized a "grandparents' volunteer service".

Function of counsel

1) at the work level

Beyond the renewed and widened role given to grandparents, is it not appropriate and feasible to rediscover the roles of support, counsel and mediation which, in traditional societies, went undisputed? The functions of "consulting" engineer or "consulting" administrator are well known. There are other examples in Québec, and these should be spread. At Canadian National Railways, retired persons fulfill the role of consultants. At a Valleyfield electrical company, whenever a young employee is hired, a former old employee is rehired to train him. In such cases, the approach is not necessarily on a volunteer basis, but on a contractual one. Analyzing the various definitions of profession, Douglas Hall admits that the latter can be seen - inter alia - as a set of attitudes and behaviours gradually acquired at work in the course of an individual's active life. The employer who realizes that he has within his reach this "mine of information" could take advantage of it by entrusting his older employees with roles whereby they could pass over to the younger ones a share of these attitudes and skills.

Marcel Côté writes: "It is to be hoped that the new policies and practices in the field of continuing education and training may bring out and even give renewed value to the role of consultant and training person which the elderly worker could play in a more visible and efficient way if only he were given the chance. How many improved working methods were kept secret, how many real technological changes remained unknown, how many attitudes acquired only through experience could be preserved, made official and translated into writings rather than left exclusively to oral tradition in an era where culture and values are increasingly heterogeneous?[3]».

2) At the educational and cultural levels

Could these new "policies" which were observed in the field of business not be considered in the field of teaching? What kind of place is reserved for elderly teachers? Must they be viewed in a negative light only, as out of step through habit, repetition and the lack of renewal? Do they not also have maturity through experience, a sense of perspective regarding events, a deeper awareness of the past? Could this richness not be used? Could new formulae not be found and especially implemented?

Some experiments deserve to be studied and enlarged upon: the "school-meeting for generations" project at Three-Rivers; at Lac-St-Jean, a grandfather recalls old memories before second grade students; at a Cegep, teachers with long experience meet the young in the classroom to evoke Québec's past and thus give life to history; elsewhere, an old French teacher organizes literary workshops in a cultural center, etc. It is therefore possible to elaborate various formulae whereby activities are combined or elderly persons mixed with other groups of citizens. Such formulae will encourage them to come out of their solitude and make use of their knowledge.

Historical function

If age is regarded as an asset, there are many resource-persons in Québec. The elderly are, so to speak, "points" of reference; after having in recent years praised our heritage and folklore skyhigh, there is perhaps now the risk of "throwing away the baby with the bath water"! Such is the price to be paid for fads. Shall we squander this asset and ignore what other cultures have wisely safeguarded: the history function of the Elders?

The initiative of the Québec Institute for Research of Culture which launched the "Memories of an Era" competition is a well-inspired experiment which should be encouraged. This activity has a popular flavor and consists in collecting the life stories of elderly people in order to create a basic stock of oral archives. This material is deposited at the Québec National Archives and may thus be useful to teachers and researchers from all disciplines.

The variety of richness in Québec might perhaps also be worth paying attention to. The experience of our elderly adults has a multicultural character. Will young people learn about the ancestral wisdom of the Inuit, Amerindians and Metis only by attending courses in anthropology? What about the elderly immigrants, be they Chinese, Lithuanians, Romanians, Italians, and so on? Could they not be questioned and consulted in order to communicate their lifestyles and the specific attitudes of each country concerning age? A collection of their stories, combined with those of our own local people, could possibly form a true "wisdom of the Nations".

Civic and political role

Age does not suppress civic and social responsibilities. Without promoting a gerontocracy, senior citizens who are liberated from work and have free time, could take charge of many services either at the municipal, provincial or national levels.

Preparing for this stage of life

However, in order for these functions to be exercised and for the above described dynamisms to find expression, adequate preparation is necessary. In the course of the consultations carried out by the Commission de l'éducation des adultes, the same comment was repeated everywhere: preparation is an urgent matter.

The reason is that the transition into retirement brutally triggers off a certain number of liberating or belittling changes in the lives of individuals; the latter have not been initiated into these changes and must live through them as if through a personal crisis.

Let us recall them briefly: a social devaluation which is experienced as an identity-crisis; a confrontation with unstructured "free" time; finally, the experience of ruptures without, naturally, having become familiar with the realities of aging.

Indeed, more than two decades ago in the U.S.A., the realization of such problems prompted the idea of "preparation for retirement". Today, experiments are conducted practically everywhere. However, despite unanimity on the necessity, opinions differ on the methods.

Although "collective" preparation has obvious qualities, many emphasize its weaknesses, particularly in the case of courses given by young participants without experience; others point to the

limitations of an education offered too shortly before retirement and during too brief a lapse of time.

This is precisely the proper situation for research-action, combining the experience of men and women who have already left work with the "imagined" experience of retiring at age 50 or 55 and the theoretical knowledge of animators.

The main points which should be included in a serious program include, firstly, demystifying the "ambiguous" situation of social rejection and releasing from the fears and anxieties due to age; secondly, searching for individual and collective reference values: "where to turn when work stops?", learning new forms of time management and reorienting one's interests towards new objectives and projects.

Finally, a truly humanistic preparation should invite reflection on the incidence of living retirement as a couple. As a matter of fact, for its remaining years, the couple - a new one in many respects - may turn out to be, for each spouse, practically the sole dimension of his life. This preparation should also concentrate on a reinterpretation of one's personal life. This life, as it is renewed and repeated, becomes in its own peculiar way "history" and a cultural asset.

Moreover, if this preparation allows for reorganizing one's life, and assuming new social political and cultural challenges, or even starting a new career, it should also consider the inevitable time for disengagement and detachment. In our society, giving up action and work may appear as an admission of impotence, and the loss of one's "personality", but it is possibly for each individual the moment of truth. "Growing old, wrote Goethe, is to gradually remove oneself from appearances".

Although man realizes himself through work, this is only one facet of his life, the public one; there is also, within each individual, another facet which, to be appreciated, requires reflection and silence. One of the objectives of continuing education should be to include in its finalities and practices, a concern for serene and dignified progression towards old age.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

> I, also, take pleasure in conversing with old men; I believe we must be informed from them, as from persons traveling ahead on a road we may also have to follow, about its condition: whether rough and difficult, or smooth and easy".
>
> Socrates[1]

The CEA's intention was, through its consultations to listen to adults on the threshold of retirement or those who have already entered this phase of life. These consultations have resulted in, firstly, an observation of the social marginalization of the elderly, the prejudices, fears and malaises caused by individual and collective aging; secondly, in noting the potential, richness and dynamism of the elderly.

The question posed at the beginning was justified. We asked: "How can this age of life be integrated into society?" Any proposal with a view to positive action requires first an honest examination of the situation created by our society for both the aging and the aged; it also requires a logical approach since it would be pointless to invest so much in basic education and adult education if everything ends at age 50; it requires lucid examination aimed at perceiving the retirement situation as a deep human problem calling for the acknowledgement of differences among this section of the population and accordingly considering such differences in opinions and practices in order to avoid any form of discrimination; it requires conceding the limitations resulting from illness and old age, etc. and finally, it requires a testimony of the unique experience and role of elderly persons and bearers of history.

The basic policy statement on adult education declares: "The concept of adult must be reviewed in depth". This is particularly true in the case of men and women of the third age since 1) they are adults at the peak of human development, 2) they are adults whose experience of life and daily action are a potential source of knowledge and savoir-faire, with all due respect to the frailties of age.

With understanding and respect for this specific situation, education must take on new and perhaps original perspectives. As a matter of fact, this is no longer a matter of preparation for active life or of professional preparation, but of providing a more open and disinterested education, without relation to productivity or to any form of social promotion. It is a case of studying without obligation, without diploma, of studying gratuitously, obviously in response to needs, but also in response to cultural, social and personal interest.

This form of education above all aims at personal enrichment with a view to self-realization and participation in social, cultural and political life. It should not be construed as a simple palliative, for example; to fill a social or emotional void or as a pastime. Its primary objective would be:

> "To help the elderly person understand himself and understand what he is experiencing and what he is becoming, to help him understand this new phase of his development and how, far from being a prelude to death, it (old age) will be the most decisive phase of this fulfilment and might be the happiest period of his life. Also to help him to orientate himself, because the elderly person is not defined in terms of himself only. In order to find himself, he must at all costs be able to understand the

> evolution of the world around him, know what place he occupies in society and what important role he still has to play in it... Finally, to help him to become involved. Because getting actively involved on behalf of less privileged colleagues or with other groups of society can only contribute a new meaning and a new dimension to his life...[2]".

Then, age would truly become an asset...

RECOMMENDATIONS

At this stage of its proceedings, the Conseil is confronted with the responsibility of proposing appropriate and functional measures. But whom should it address when the object of its study challenges society as a whole, governments and sectorial ministers before it even concerns the Ministre de l'Education?

The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation therefore recommends:

- considering that minimal conditions of dignity, security and physical and moral health are necessary even before educational contributions may come into play,

to the Government of Québec

R1 that the policy on aging, proposed more than four years ago, be announced as soon as possible;

R2 that, within this policy, the educational and social concern for elderly persons not be eliminated in favor of purely economic considerations;

R3 that the policy on aging affirm the human and social value of aging, regardless of the concept of labor-related productivity and that, therefore, this policy create the basis for the right to progressive development of the human being and consequently to continuing education; that this policy give credit to accumulated experience and eliminate all discrimination because of age;

R4 that the ministerial committee in charge of adult education (ministre de l'Education, ministre de la Main-d'oeuvre et de la Sécurité du revenu, ministre délégué à la Condition féminine) be

also associated with the ministre des Affaires sociales for the implementation of this inevitably comprehensive policy;

R5 that this policy allow for overcoming obstacles preventing integration into society or the access to educational services, such as the lack of adequate income; that in this respect, it pay special attention to the situation of women who have spent most of their life at home and, for example, provide for their integration into the Québec Pension Plan;

R6 that new fields of intervention be opened to elderly persons to allow them to contribute to the development of society;

R7 that, for example, a program of community intervention be set up, whereby elderly persons could work among other elderly persons or other citizens in exchange for a modest income supplement;

R8 that, in collaboration with employers, unions and various associations, measures be gradually implemented concerning paid educational leaves of absence in order to provide citizens with continuous adaptation to the various stages of life as well as the social, personal, cultural and technological changes, and also in order to allow them to exercise other functions or roles more compatible with old age;

R9 that, in collaboration with employers, unions and various associations, workers be offered access to various forms for preparation for aging, retiring and supporting insertion into society; that this access be offered to them at different ages and that their spouses be associated in this process;

R10 that adequate financial resources be provided to the organizations working with elderly persons to allow for developing activities compatible with their interests and needs

as well as for educating participants;

R11 that elderly persons be invited by preference to work as resource-persons among other elderly persons;

R12 that the private or public organizations most suited to each community be mandated;

- to organize cooperation between the various organizations or associations working among elderly persons,

- to set up an information center specially catered to answer their educational or social needs;

- to create,with the help of different associations of elderly persons, banks made up of resource-persons to service firms, institutions, volunteer organizations or ordinary citizens, in order to allow them to act as consultants and be able to communicate their experience and knowledge;

R13 that Radio-Québec be challenged and that the other electronic or written media be invited, within the framework of their educational mission, to collaborate in endeavouring to change the negative perception of aging conveyed by the population and in this way to facilitate a better integration of elderly persons into society.

In addition, the Conseil recommends:

- considering that it behoves in particular the educational mission to take charge of certain specific measures,

to the ministre de l'Education

R14 that awareness, concern for and knowledge of the phenomenon of aging and the various stages of life become part of the educational program of all students and teachers, in order that this gradual understanding may become a part of the objective of basic education for every citizen;

R15 that teaching institutions at all levels, but particularly at elementary and secondary levels, promote the presence, participation and contribution of elderly persons through various joint activities which will give all students a better understanding of the phenomenon of aging, and allow the elderly to act as resource-persons or to exercise their role as senior citizens, in the full sense of the word;

R16 that the policy on adult education, appropriately entitled A Project for Continuing Education, concern itself also with clientèles whose educational requirements are not necessarily defined in terms of preparing for professional life but in terms of new social roles, of continuing adaptation to personal, social and cultural changes related to aging and to the development of knowledge;

R17 that the Voluntary Organizations of Popular Education strive to give a greater share of the educational portion of their budgets to organizations made up of elderly persons;

R18 that the public educational institutions make their material resources, in particular their meeting facilities available to groups of elderly citizens and that their interventions be made in a spirit of respect and according to the method of special education rather than as a simple supply of services and courses;

R19 that the universities and educational institutions be encouraged to develop to a greater extent the field of research in geriatrics and gerontology in order to further knowledge in this domain and improve the training of future participants for activities among elderly persons;

R20 that encouragement be given to the kind of research-action whereby elderly persons would participate in defining alternative scenarios for organizing work and leisure, education, housing, health, pension plans or playing new social roles according to the different ages of life.

APPENDIX: Consultations

Persons or groups met by members of the Commission de l'éducation des adultes within the framework of its inquiry concerning elderly persons.

- Provincial Committee on Education for the Third Age

Mrs Thérèse Tremblay, of the D.G.E.A.
Mr. Ernest Poulin, of the Fédération québécoise des retraités en résidences et centres d'accueil (Québec Federation of Retired Persons in Homes or Reception Centers);

- In the region of Montréal, representatives and members of the Fédération de l'âge d'or du Québec (FADOQ) of the Service à la collectivité du Collège de Rosemont (Service to the Rosemont College Community) of the Forum Senior Citizens.

- In the region of Québec, the representatives and members of the Champenoise, home for elderly persons of the Association des retraités de l'enseignement (Association of Retired Teachers) (Québec Chapter) of the St-Vallier Community Center.

- At a round table

Mr. Hubert de Ravinel
Mrs Thérèse Desjardins of the University of Montréal
Mr. Hector Ouellet, of the Québec Federation of CLSCs
Mr. Marcel Coté
of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes commerciales.

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CHAPTER 3

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2. Interviews conducted at the University of Sherbrooke by Gilbert Leclerc and Jacques Proulx.

3. Gilbert Leclerc et Jacques Proulx. Their research contained 2 parts: 1) notation and analysis of the themes of French scientific literature in recent years illustrating these dynamisms, 2) 54 interviews of persons aged 60 to 80.

CHAPTER 4

1. This implies: 1) identifying the elderly people's malaise as "marginalization", 2) being convinced that social integration is a solution to this malaise, and 3) that without denying the necessity of specialized services, these must necessarily be part of an integral scheme and 4) that this attitude will provide the elderly with greater facility to, in turn, become useful to society.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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